

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 SANTO 06344 01 OF 02 202103Z  
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ONY-00 /015 W  
-----030525 202115Z /75  
P 202005Z OCT 77  
FM AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDCPRIORITY 2388

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTO DOMINGO 6344

FOR TODMAN ONLY

EO 11652 GDS  
TAGS: OVIP, (TODMAN, TERENCE A.)  
SUB: DRAFT MEMCOM OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN'S MEETING  
WITH PRD

REF: STATE 240824,

1. THERE FOLLOWS TEXT OF A DRAFT MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION  
ON YOUR OCTOBER 18 MEETING WITH THE PRD:

2. QUOTE: SUBJECT: PRD COMPLAINS OF MILITARY INTERFERENCE  
IN CAMPAIGN AND LINKS IT TO CARTER/BALAGUER WASHINGTON  
BILATERAL. PARTICIPANTS: JOSE FRANCISCO PENA GOMEZ, SECRETARY  
GENERAL PARTIDO REVOLUCIONARIO DOMINICANO (PRD);  
JACOBO MAJLUTA, PRESIDENT (AND PRESIDENTIAL PRE-  
CANDIDATE), PRD; MANUEL FERNANDEZ MARMOL, VICE PRESIDENT (AND  
PRESIDENTIAL PRE-CANDIDATE), PRD; EMILIO LUDOVINO FERNANDEZ,  
CHIEF OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, PRD;  
IVELISSE PRATS DE PEREZ, MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE, PRD;  
SALVADOR JORGE BLANCO, PRESIDENTIAL PRE-CANDIDATE, PRD; ANTONIO  
GUZMAN, PRESIDENTIAL PRE-CANDIDATE PRD; TERENCE A. TODMAN,  
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS;  
ROBERT A HURWITCH, AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN SANTO DOMINGO;  
ASHLEY C. HEWITT, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF CARIBBEAN AFFAIRS, DEPT.  
OF STATE; PHILIP AXELROD, DEPUTY CHIEF OF MISSION,  
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AMERICAN EMBASSY, SANTO DOMINGO: JOHN F.KING, POLITICAL  
COUNSELOR, AMERICAN EMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO: DANIEL A.  
STRASSER, POLITICAL OFFICER, AMERICAN EMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO.

3. BACKGROUND OF MEETING: ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN'S  
MEETING WITH THE PRD LEADERSHIP, WHICH WAS NOT PART OF THE  
PRE-ARRANGED SCHEDULE OF HIS DOMINICAN VISIT, CAME ABOUT

THROUGH THE FOLLOWING PROCESS: THE PRD, AS WELL AS OTHER RECOGNIZED POLITICAL PARTIES, HAD BEEN INVITED TO ATTEND AN OCTOBER 17TH EMBASSY RECEPTION IN HONOR OF AMBASSADOR TODMAN. THIS CORRESPONDED TO AN EXPRESSED PURPOSE OF HIS VISIT, I.E., "TO KNOW LEADERS OF VARIOUS SECTORS OF DOMINICAN SOCIETY WHICH PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A FREE, DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY." THE PRD DID NOT ATTEND THE RECEPTION, EXPLAINING TO EMBASSY OFFICERS THAT THEY HAD BEEN DISAPPOINTED WITH PRESIDENT CARTER'S PUBLIC PRAISE OF PRESIDENT BALAGUER FOLLOWING THE TWO PRESIDENTS' WHITE HOUSE BILATERAL ON SEPTEMBER 8. NEVERTHELESS, THEY INVITED AMBASSADOR TODMAN TO VISIT THEIR PARTY HEADQUARTERS FOR DISCUSSION, BUT AGREED INSTEAD TO A PRIVATE MEETING ON OCTOBER 18TH AT THE AMERICAN EMBASSY.

4. THE MEETING: AMBASSADOR TODMAN BEGAN BY REITERATING HIS INTEREST IN MEETING WITH LEADERS OF VARIOUS SECTORS OF DOMINICAN SOCIETY AND EXPRESSED REGRET THAT PRD LEADERS HAD NOT ATTENDED THE PREVIOUS EVENING'S RECEPTION. HE RECALLED PENA GOMEZ' APRIL 22 CALL ON HIM IN WASHINGTON AND WAS PLEASED THAT THE PRD LEADERS HAD SOUGHT AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS AGAIN.

5. CLAIM BALAGUER'S WASHINGTON VISIT SET OFF WAVE OF REPRESSION:- PARTY PRESIDENT MAJLUTA, AFTER WELCOMING AMBASSADOR TODMAN TO THE DR, OUTLINED THE PRD'S PRESENT CONFIDENTIAL

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POSITION CONCERNING THE USG AND THE UPCOMING DOMINICAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. UNFORTUNATELY, DUE TO THE 1965 U.S. INTERVENTION, HE SAID, AMERICAN INFLUENCE HAS BECOME AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN DOMINICAN AFFAIRS AND POLITICAL EQUILIBRIUM IN THE COUNTRY WAS DEPENDENT ON U.S. INFLUENCE. ON THIS PREMISE, OVER THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS THE PRD HAD ESTABLISHED GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE EMBASSY. WITH THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT CARTER, THE PARTY'S HOPE GREW FOR INCREASED RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE DR, ESPECIALLY FOR FREE ELECTIONS. FOLLOWING PRESIDENT CARTER'S EXCESSIVE PRAISE OF PRESIDENT BALAGUER, HOWEVER, REPRESSION HAS INCREASED MARKEDLY, AND THE POLITICAL SITUATION HAS WORSENED. BALAGUER'S FOLLOWERS HAVE USED THE SUCCESS OF THE VISIT FOR PURELY ELECTORAL PURPOSES THROUGH A MASSIVE MEDIA CAMPAIGN. REPRESSION OF THE PRD HAS TAKEN THE FORM OF ARRESTS, DISMISSAL OF TEACHERS WHO ARE PARTY MEMBERS, AND PREVENTION OF PARTY GATHERINGS. HE ALLEGED THIS INCREASED REPRESSION WAS DUE DIRECTLY TO THE VIEW IN GOVERNMENT CIRCLES THAT THE U.S. NOW SUPPORTS BALAGUER'S REELECTION.

6. MAJLUTA SAID THAT SINCE THE U.S. IS INFLUENTIAL IN THE DR AND ESPECIALLY IN THE ARMED FORCES, IT WAS NECESSARY

FOR IT TO DEMONSTRATE ITS NEUTRALITY IN THE ELECTIONS "NOT ONLY IN FACT BUT IN APPEARANCE", AND TAKE ACTIONS TO BRING CURRENT REPRESSION OF THE PRD TO A HALT. (HE DID NOT SPECIFY WHAT THESE ACTIONS SHOULD BE.)

7. PRD COMPLAINTS FOCUS ON MILITARY INTERFERENCE--  
SEVERAL OF THE PRD LEADERS THEN PROCEED TO LIST THEIR COMPLAINTS. ANTONIO GUZMAN FOCUSED ON RECENT OPEN PRO-BALAGUER ELECTIONEERING BY SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES, PARTICULARLY MAJOR GENERAL JUAN RENE BEAUCHAMP JAVIER, SECRETARY OF THE ARMED FORCES. BEAUCHAMP, HE ALLEGED WAS "GOING PERSONALLY FROM TOWN TO TOWN" PRESSURING PRD MEMBERS TO DESERT THE PARTY AND WAS ORDERING MILITARY UNDER HIS COMMAND TO DO THE SAME (HE CITED SOME EXAMPLES).  
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8. PENA GOMEZ SAID THAT THE SITUATION HAD CHANGED SINCE HE HAD MET WITH AMBASSADOR TODMAN ON APRIL 22, WHEN HE HAD TOLD THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY THAT BALAGUER HAD IMPROVED PRESS FREEDOM, REDUCED TERRORISM AND THAT OPPOSITION PARTIES WERE FUNCTIONING RELATIVELY FREELY. HE ALSO RECALLED THAT HE HAD SAID AT THAT TIME THAT MUCH OF WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IN THE HURWITCH

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ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ONY-00 /015 W  
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P 202005Z OCT 77  
FM AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2389

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTO DOMINGO 6344

FOR TODMAN ONLY

FUTURE DEPENDED ON THE ACTIONS OF THE SENIOR MILITARY. DUE TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S EXCESSIVE PRAISE OF PRESIDENT BALAGUER, THE

MILITARY AND PARTIDO REFORMISTA ADHERENTS HAVE BECOME EMBOLDENED. BOTH GENERALS BEAUCHAMP AND NEIT NIVAR SEIJAS, CHIEF OF THE NATIONAL POLICE, HAVE OPENLY ENTERED INTO THE CAMPAIGN TO REELECT PRESIDENT BALAGUER. HE ATTRIBUTED THIS RECENT CHANGE ALSO TO THE FACT THAT BALAGUER'S SUPPORTERS, AFTER 11 YEARS IN POWER, REALIZE THAT THEY HAVE MUCH AT STAKE PERSONALLY IN THE ELECTIONS, AND OUT OF FEAR, WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS "PANIC", ARE GETTING INVOLVED IN THE BALAGUER REELECTION EFFORT. THIS IS SOMETHING WHICH BALAGUER HIMSELF CANNOT CONTROL. BEAUCHAMP IS TELLING PRD MEMBERS AROUND THE COUNTRY THAT "IF YOU DON'T SWITCH TO BALAGUER, YOUR'RE NOT MY FRIEND". NIVAR, HE SAID, HAS OPENED AN OFFICE WITH AMPLE RESOURCES AND PERSONNEL WHOSE PURPOSE IS TO WIN OVER PRD MEMBERS. HE LISTED SEVERAL CASES WHERE PRESSURE HAD BEEN PUT ON LOCAL PRD LEADERS AND TEACHERS. IVELISSE PRATS SAID PRD TEACHERS WHO WERE "TRANSFERRED" TO OTHER SCHOOLS WERE ACTUALLY BEING DISMISSED.

9. RELATIONSHIP WITH US - PENA THEN REVIEWED THE PROCESS OF THE PARTY'S RAPPROCHEMENT WITH THE US GOVERNMENT AFTER YEARS OF ESTRANGEMENT. SOME YEARS BACK THE PARTY HAD BROKEN WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT, AND BEGAN MEETING WITH EMBASSY PERSONNEL AND ATTENDING EMBASSY SOCIAL FUNCTIONS. IT DEFINED ITSELF AS BEING AGAINST BALAGUER AS WELL AS AGAINST JUAN BOSCH W#THE COMMUNISTS.

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BUT THIS APPROXIMATION WITH THE US HAD BEEN COSTLY AND WAS USED BY THE EXTREME LEFT TO CRITICIZE THE PARTY. IT WAS, NONETHELESS, A PRICE THE PRD WAS WILLING TO PAY. NOW, HOWEVER, WITH PRESIDENT CARTER'S EXAGGERATED PRAISE OF BALAGUER, THE OVERT ENTRY OF THE MILITARY INTO POLITICS, AND THE PRESSURE ON PRD LEADERS, THE PRD CAN NO LONGER ATTEND EMBASSY COCKTAIL PARTIES WHERE THEY MUST ASSOCIATE "WITH THE VERY PEOPLE WHO ARE BURNING DOWN OUR PARTY HEADQUARTERS". SALVADOR JORGE SAID THAT HE HAD BASED HIS CAMPAIGN ON CARTER'S HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY BUT WAS CONSTANTLY CONFRONTED BY PEOPLE WHO NOW SEE THAT POLICY IS AN ENDORSEMENT OF BALAGUER AS THE PRINCIPAL DEFENDER OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE DR. IVELISSE PRATS (A UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATOR) ADDED THAT IN THE PRD'S STRUGGLE TO WIN YOUTH AWAY FROM THE EXTREME LEFT, THE PARTY REQUIRED ALL THE CREDIBILITY IT COULD MUSTER.

10. ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN'S RESPONSE - AMBASSADOR TODMAN SAID HE HAD COME TO THE DR TO LEARN MORE ABOUT THE COUNTRY AND THANKED THE PRD LEADERS FOR THEIR VIEWS. HE SAID THAT WHILE HE RESPECTED THE PRD LEADERS' RIGHTS TO THEIR VIEWS ABOUT PRESIDENT CARTER'S PRAISE OF PRESIDENT BALAGUER, HE DISAGREED THAT IT WAS EXCESSIVE. IF ONE COMPARES THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC OF TODAY TO WHAT IT WAS BEFORE, HE MUST ADMIT THAT THERE HAVE BEEN IMPORTANT CHNGES IN THE COUNTRY UNDER THE BALAGUER ADMINISTRATION WHICH DESERVE FAVORABLE COMMENT. NOTHING IN THIS, HOWEVER, APPLIES TO BALAGUER AS A CANDIDATE. ALL THE HEMISPHERIC LEADERS, INCLUDING BALAGUER, WHO WERE IN WASH-

INGTON FOR THE PANAMA TREATIES CEREMONY WENT AS CHIEFS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT, NOT AS LEADERS OF POLITICAL PARTIES. HE NOTED, THEREFORE, THAT IF POLITICIANS USE SUCH EVENTS FOR THEIR OWN POLITICAL PURPOSES, THE US CANNOT BE BLAMED FOR THIS; POLITICIANS ALWAYS ATTEMPT TO DERIVE AS MUCH POLITICAL BENEFIT AS THEY CAN FROM EVERYTHING. WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS THAT EACH PERSON JUDGE FOR HIMSELF THE INTERPRETATION OF FACTS. ONE MUST CLEARLY DISTINGUISH BETWEEN FACTS, WHAT PEOPLE COMMENT ABOUT THESE FACTS AND WHAT ONE  
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FINALLY ACCEPTS AS AN INTERPRETATION OF WHAT THESE FACTS MEAN. WHAT IS CERTAIN, HOWEVER, IS YOU CANNOT BLAME THE FACT.

11. AMBASSADOR TODMAN CLEARLY STATED THAT IN ELECTIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES THE US DOES NOT EXPRESS PREFERENCE FOR CANDIDATES IN ANY WAY. THE DEMOCRATIC ELECTORAL PROCESS IS THE MOST SACRED RIGHT OF ANY PEOPLE. IF THE US IN THE PAST HAD GOTTEN INVOLVED IN OTHER COUNTRIES' INTERNAL POLITICS, THIS WAS SOMETHING HE REGRETTED. HOWEVER, THIS IS NOT THE CASE TODAY NOR WOULD IT BE IN THE FUTURE.

12. THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY ALSO EXPRESSED HIS FIRM VIEW, IN LIGHT OF THIS VISIT TO THE DR TO ADDRESS THE INTER-AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION, THAT A FREE PRESS CAN PLAY AN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGH THE EXPOSURE TO PUBLIC OPINION OF ANY VIOLATIONS, AND SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW HOW MUCH OF THE PRD LEADERS' ALLEGATIONS WERE REPORTED IN THE DOMINICAN PRESS. IN RESPONSE TO MS. PRATS, WHO SAID THE RIGHT TO FOOD AND EDUCATION WERE ALSO IMPORTANT, AMBASSADOR TODMAN SAID THE US IN PURSUIT OF ITS HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES WAS CONCERNED ABOUT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS. THIS IS A WORLD-WIDE PROBLEM, HOWEVER, AND A LONG AND DIFFICULT STRUGGLE LAY AHEAD IN ALL COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE US, TO IMPROVE THE HUMAN CONDITIONS.

13. FINAL COMMENTS - IN ENDING THE MEETING, AMBASSADOR HURWITCH SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HAD BEEN CONSTRUCTIVE. HE WAS PLEASED BY THE LONG ASSOCIATION HE AND MEMBERS OF HIS STAFF HAD HAD WITH THE PRD LEADERS PRESENT, NOTING THAT HIS OWN CONTACT WITH PENA WENT BACK TO 1971. FURTHER, HE NOTED THAT HE HAD PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY REITERATED THE US POLICY OF COMPLETE NEUTRALITY AND IMPARTIALITY IN DOMINICAN INTERNAL POLITICS. THE AMBASSADOR TOLD THE LEADERS THAT HIS PHONE LINE WAS ALWAYS OPEN TO THEM IF THEY WANTED TO BRING TO THE EMBASSY'S ATTENTION MATTERS OF IMPORTANCE. HE WONDERED WHY THEY HAD FAILED TO COMMUNICATE TO HIM PREVIOUSLY THE MATTERS WHICH THEY HAD RAISED DURING THE MEETING.

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14. PENA'S RESPONSE WAS THAT HE HAD MADE A SPEECH ON THE SUBJECT  
THAT DAY. HE ALSO SAID THAT HE DID NOT AGREE WITH AMBASSADOR  
TODMAN'S ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPROVED SITUATION IN THE DOMINICAN  
REPUBLIC, BECAUSE "THINGS ARE NOT ALWAYS AS THEY APPEAR TO BE".  
END QUOTE.  
HURWITCH

NOTE BY OCT: # AS RECEIVED.

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## Message Attributes

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